SOME NEW BOOKS. Mildebrand

The initial volume of the "Ten Epochs of Church History" series is called The Age of HQdebrand, by MARVIN R. VINCEST, D. D., of the Union Theological Seminary. (The Christian Literature Company.) Ostensibly this book covers the period from the entrance of the propective Gregory VII. into the arens of Papal politics up to the time when his system came nearest to complete success under Innocent III. In point of fact it carries us considerably further, dealing with the conquest of the two Sicilies by Charles of Anjon, and with other events which marked the close of the thirteenth sentury. The book deserves its title, because, throughout the two and a half centuries reat the two and a half centuries reviewed, the eyes of men were fixed even less intently on the crusades than on the struggle between Papal and secular authorities which is lated with the name of Hildebrand, because It was his determination to carry out in practice ideas, formerly held in theory alone, but which now revolutionized the mediaval Church. It is an outline of his career which we purpos giving in this notice of Dr. Vincent's interest ng book, merely premising that the narrative tefore us is penned, not from a Catholic, but from a Protestant point of view.

Theman who was himself to occupy the Papal shair under the name of Gregory VII., after being the power behind the throne during at ast two Pontificates, was born at Savons, in Tuscany, probably between 1015 and 1020. His father was said to have been a carpenter. His ame, Hildebrand, which the Italians softened into Hellebrand, was transformed by his Ger man enemies into Höllebrand (brand of hell). Atan early age he was sent to the monastery of anta Maria, on the Aventine, at Rome, where he received instruction in the liberal arts, in the use of Latin, in the rules of rhetoric and otios, and in the writings of the fathers The monastery was often visited by Odilo, the bot of the famous and powerful monastice tablishment at Clugny, in Burgundy, and it was perhaps owing to his influence that the young Hildsbrand withdrew to Clauny, where he passed several years. Here he practised the sewars discipling of the Benedictines, with whom he formed intimate relations, and gained thos ideas of ecclesiastical reform which he was to try to carry out. Eventually he returned to me to find the city occupied by the factions of three rival Popes, and the Church in utte onfusion. Soon afterward he took his place is the suite of Gregory VI., whom he always styles his master, whose exile he shared, and whose Pontifical name he assumed when he himsel ceeded to the office of Pope. At this juncture the fortunes of the Papacy

were almost at their lowest ebb. The Papal succession had fallen into the hands of the Counts Tuenlum, descended from the courtesand Theodosia and Marosia, who, in the previous cen tury, had for a considerable period controlled the Papal elections, and had wielded an enormous fuence by means of their personal charms and their brazen licentiousness. Three of this family in succession occupied the Papal throne. After the death of John XIX, the Tusculans inducted into the Papal office, in 1033, his nephew, a bo of ten or twelve years, under the title of Bene dict IX. Even at that tender age he was an execrable wretch, abandoned to a life of shame ess debauchery, and it is clear from a portrai drawn of him by a contemporary monk of Clugny, that in him the Papacy reached its lowest depth of moral depravity. The people of me, wearled of his murders, robbe other abominations, drove him at last from the city and elected John of Sabina, as Sylveste III.: but the Tusculans restored Benedict after however, grew weary of his office. According to one story he became enamored of a coust whose father refused his consent to her mar riage unless Benedict would resign the Papa chair. This he agreed to do, and, accordingly, sold the office to John Gratian, offered him more than he could make by his robberies, and who succeeded to chair under the title of Gregory VI. This Pope seed of large wealth, and though popularly regarded as lacking in brains, he ms to have been a man of learning, and or pure character and plety, measured by the indard of his time. He unquestionably strove to better the condition of Rome, which at this time was pitiable. A hundred petty lords stood ready to pounce upon it at every opportunity. All the roads to the city were beset with rob bers who plundered pligrims; the churches were afraid to walk the streets: and St. Peter's way hand, to snatch from the altars the offerings of plous devotees. With these abuses Gregory VI. dealt vigorously. He called out the soldiers rečetablished discipline, and regained possession f many strongholds within the city. Sylvester III., however, still claimed the Papal seat, and there were thus three Popes, one in the Lateran. one in St. Peter's, and the third in Santa Maria Maggiore, with their respective factions, at

deadly feud with one another. Nevertheless, some faint sense of decency sur vived in Rome, and a deputation was at length ent to solicit the interference of Henry III. who, in 1039, had become Emperor of Germany Henry proceeded to convoke a Council of Bishops to examine the claims of the three Popes, which examination resulted in the refection of all three. A canonical Pope was now to be chosen, and the right of nomination was formally conveyed to Henry by the council of in lords. Thus to hand over the elec the Roman lords. Thus to hand over the elec-tion of a Pope to a temporal sovereign was a significant concession, fraught with bloody con sequences at no distant date. But, for the moat, nobles, citizens, and clergy confirm with acciamations the act which subjected the city and the Apostolic See absolutely to the German Emperor. The Bishop of Bamberg having been consecrated as Clement II. on Christmas Day, 1046, the deposed Gregory VI. retired into Germany, accompanied by the young monk. Hildebrand, who had been his chaplain during his brief Pontificate. Clement II, died before the end of his first year in the Papal chair, and edict IX. reappeared, and succeeded in holding the seat for nine months, when Poppe of Brixen succeeded as Damasus II., and disc fter thirty-three days, as the Germans declared by poison. On the application of the Roman to the Emperor for the nomination of a suc cessor, Henry's choice fell on Bruno, the Bishop of Toul in Lorraine. Hildebrand at this time was at Worms, with the Emperor, and the new Pope offered to take him with him to Rome. The reply which he is reported to have made foreshadowed the arrogance which marked him in later years: "I cannot, because, ut canonical institution, and by the royal and secular power alone, you are going to seize upon the Roman Church." If the story is to be credited, it shows very clearly what was already Hildebrand's opinion con perning the appointment of a Pope by an Em Possibly Bruno had already felt some gruples which were confirmed by Hildebrand's words; at any rate, he refused to owe his election to the Emperor's will, and declared to the seembly at Worms and to the deputies from Rome that he would not accept the Papal throne, save upon the free election of the Roman slergy and people. Accompanied by Hilde brand he travelled to Rome as a pilgrim. After journey which occupied two months, he at the gate of the city and asked the Romans if they would receive him as Pope in name of Christ. In St. Peter's he declared that, though the Emperor had chosen him, he ld return to his bishopric unless the dignity should be conferred by the unanimous voice of people. The decree of election was drawn up in the name of the clergy and people, and he was enthroned as Leo IX. on Feb. 12, 1049. The dministration of Leo marked a crisis in the history of the Papacy. It was the inauguration of a great and radical reform in the high Cath sense. Hildebrand was the real genius of she new spoch, and the real framer of the new

conomy of the Church. He had brought with Rome the spirit of the Benedictines of Clugny and he responded to the demands of the Cleany party.

HEE. Gigantic and multifarious was the task o derical reform to which, inspired and supported

by Hildebrand, Leo IX, addressed himself. The

picture of the elerical morals of the time is drawn by Romanist contemporaries, especially by Peter Damiani, the leader of the strict mo nastic party. According to his book, the title of which, "Gomorrhianus," is suggestive, fornication, incest, adultery, infanticide, and unnatural vice polluted the monastic life. Added to these enermities was the widely spread evil of simony, a term which had been gradually extended to cover traffic in ecclesiastical offices, and in the rights of ecclesiastical patronage, and to the purchase of admission to monastic orders. In the hands of secular sovereigns and lay patrons the power of nomination and investiture had become an instrument of the grossest rapacity, and church offices were bestowed upon the highest bidder. The domestic relations of the clergy presented a thorny problem. From very early times celibacy had been enjoined upon the Western clergy, but the prohibition of marriage had practically been confined to the letter of the on, and sometimes even the letter was defied. The secular or parochial clergy women in their houses, by connivance with their spiritual superiors. A tax called cullagium, which was nothing more than a license to keep concubines, appears as early as 080, and was put in operation by Henry I. of England, as a means of replenishing his exchequer. Although stringently forbidden by a canon of the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, it continued to flourish until the sixteenth century. The sons of pricets were empowered to inherit by the laws of France and Castile. So much for the evasions of the rule of celibacy Now for the examples of its open violation, In the sixth and seventh centuries, the Spanish clergy lived publicly with their wives. In the enth century, the clergy in other Europe countries began openly to claim the privilege of In 966, Luthertus, an Italian Bishop, not only intimated that all his clergy were married, but declared that, if he were enforce the prohibitory canons, only boys would be left in the Church, while even they would be ejected under the rule which rendered bastards ineligible to sacred offices. In Milan, as late as the middle of the eleventh century, all priests and deacons were married. Hadrian II. was married before he became Pope, and Benedict IX., as we have seen, resigned the Papal chair in order to marry. Nevertheless, it s easy to understand that, on the part of far sighted ecclesiastics, marriage would evoke even more opposition than concubinage, for the reason that if marriage had been permitted to the clergy, their benefices would be trans mitted by descent, the result of which would have been the formation of a great hereditary caste, a feudal clergy, bequeathing ecclesiastical possessions from father to son. To prevent, this was of obvious and vital importance to the Church. The Church was rich, and its posses were inalienable to laymen; but thes possessions were exposed to great risks from those members of the clergy who, to their per sonal ambitions, added family interests. The policy of the Church demanded that the priests should be bound absolutely and solely to itself; that the sacerdotal orders should be separated from the rest of society and from commo sympathies, interests, and affections.

Leo IX., for his part, found himself unable to cope successfully with clerical marriage and concubinage. The Bishops, assembled in synod, acquiesced in the prohibition of marriage, but took no steps to enforce it, and on the subject of concubinage they were ominously silent. Sim ony also proved too vast an abuse to be dealt a stroke. To depose all who had at tained their benefices by simony would have been to leave most of the benefices throughou Latin Christendom vacant. The Pope was therefore, compelled to adopt less summary measures for the time being, and to substitute confession and penance for deposition. Leo IX was politic enough to strike hard only where a blow was likely to tell. His most vigorous measures were taken where the political powers were on his side, or where there was a pros pect of carrying out the desired reform. In Germany he did not disturb the existing methods of acquiring the episcopal chairs, even although they were obtained through simple nomination by the King. In southern France where bishoprics were regularly sold for large sums, he effected nothing; while in Normandy and Rurgundy, where the secular authorities were more manageable, he broke through the for mal limits of the national churches, boldly assumed the attitude of supreme head, summone delinquents to his Roman synod, and, against the hitherto unrestrained disposal of benefice by the nobles, issued his decree that bishoprice and abbacies should be acquired only through canonical election by the clergy and people. On the whole, although his efforts at reform excited passionate opposition, and were only partially successful, his Pontificate did mu restore the authority of the Papacy, and to awaken the pride of Germany at having given such a Pope to the Church.

On the death of Leo IX., in 1054, the eyes of all the Roman ecclesiastics were turned upon Hilde brand as his successor. Nothing shows more clearly the wisdom of the man than his refusa to hasten to his goal. There were weighty reasons which made another German Pope desira ble. An Italian Pope could wield spiritual weapons only, at which the rich barons who still held most of the Papal domain would have scoffed. The Pope needed to be opulent, and able to command imperial protection against the Normans, who had become powerful in southern Italy, and had given proof of hostility. Moreover, the candidate must be approved by the Emperor; for the Church was, as yet, too feeble to attempt an election independently or him. In Hildebrand's programme, the free election of the Pope, which, from ancient times had been limited by the imperial power could not, at that moment, hold the first place His efforts were just then directed principally against simony, and against the marriage and concubinage of the priesthood. The fear of the Emperor and the insecurity in Rome, where the pobility, in the event of a breach with him on the part of the clergy, would again have controlled the Papal election, constrained the priestly party to bide its time in patient submission to Henry. Accordingly a deputation, headed by Hildebrand, was sent to Henry III. to request a nomination. In his own mind Hildebrand had already fixed upon Gebhard, the Bishop of Eichstadt, one of the wealthiest and ablest of the German prelates. Gebhard had been the confidential counsellor of the Emperor, but Hildebrand foresaw that, in the work recatablishing the Papacy, the churchman might be expected to predominate over the imperialist. The German prelate was re luctant to accept the Papal chair, and Henry III. was divided between his desire to retain him at court and his hope of having a strong ally in Italy; but Hildebrand at last prevailed and Gebhard was inaugurated at Rome as Vic tor II. in April, 1005. Having absorbed Hildebrand's ideas, Victor gradually assumed a lofty tone and began to speak of the apostolic thren of Peter, raised high above all peoples and above all realms, that it might pluck up and destroy plant and build, in the apostle's name. He was meditating a great council at Rheims when h suddenly died, in July, 1057, about ten months

As the Franconian house of Germany was now represented only by the Empress Agnes, the widow of Henry III. and her young son, the time seemed ripe for the Roman eccle slastics and people to elect a Pope withou imperial interference. Instead, therefore, of sending to Germany for a nomination, the chiefs of the Roman clergy and nobility re ferred the question of the succession to Fred erick, Abbot of Monte Casino, the brother of Godfrey, Duke of Lorraine, who, through his marriage with Beatrice, widow of the Mar grave Boniface of Tuscany, had acquired nearly all of her extensive possessions. Frederick named five candidates, among whom was Hildebrand, who was then absent in Florence, but the

after his imperial patron, Henry III.

dominant party insisted upon Frederick himseif. Five days after Victor's death he was enthroned as Stephen IX., but he was to occupy the Papal chair less than a year. Stephen IX, was a rigorous monk, a churchman of the stern-est type; faithful to the plane of his predsors, he contemplated the reform of morals. and especially the celinary of the clergy To this end he called to his side men like Hildebrand and Damiani. But before he could carry out his plans, he had to secure himself in his seat. The German court was auxious and angry at the election of Frederick without imperial authority. The new Pope sent Hildebrand to the Empress, and the envoy found no difficulty in convincing her that the Romans had been justified in resuming the right of free elections. During Hildebrand's absence Stephen IX., desiring to visit Tuscany and finding himself in feeble health, enjoined the Bishops, no bles, and priests, under penalty of anathema, in case he should die during his journey, to nomi-nate no successor before Hildebrand's return. He had scarcely arrived at Florence when he died, in March, 1088. With him ended the succession of five German Popes who had filled the chair from Clement II.

The imperial party at Rome at once sent to

the Empress, placing the nomination in her

hands. But the Emperor's minority offered to

the Roman barons who had been compelled to

disgorge some of the Church's stolen wealth, an

their hands. The Tusculan party and all the

factions created by the severity of the foreign

Popes combined with the enemies of Hildebrand

among the married and simoniacal clergy, and,

unity for getting the Papal election inte

having constituted a secret assembly by night chose John Mincius, Cardinal Bishop of Gelletri, who was privately inaugurated as Benedebrand in Germany than he obtained authority from the Empress to proceed to a new elec tion, and, being sent as her plenipotentiary to Florence, succeeded there in enlisting the cooperation of Godfrey of Lorraine, A brand at Florence, and, by their assem-bly, Gerard, Archbishop of Florence, a Burgundian, was chosen as Pope under the name of Nicolas II. His Burgundian origin made him more agreeable to the Germans than an Italian would be, and the Empress confirmed his election on a secret stipulation that her son should be crowned Emperor. The new Pope hastened to Rome, accompanied by Godfrey and his soldiers, who occupied the Leonine city and stormed the Lateran. Benedict X. fled, and Nicolas II, entered the city with Godfrey and Hildebrand. It was Hildebrand who subsequently, at the head of some Norman horsemen, besieged Benedict in the fortress of Galeria and eventually gained possession of his person. Carried before Nicolas and a council in the Lateran, Benedict was stripped of the Pontifical robes before the altar, and was forced to subscribe a confession of numerous sins, drawn up by Hildebrand, after which he was formally deposed from all spiritual dignities. The reform party at Rome was now determined to free the Papal election from the interference slike of the Roman nobles and of the German throne, In April, 1059, a council was convoked by Nicolas in Rome, at which Benedict X. was condemned, and the prohibitions of simony and priestly marriage were renewed. The most significant act of the council was the passage of a decree concerning the Papal election which onstituted the greatest revolution attempted in the structure of the hierarchy since the days of the Apostles. The council enacted that on the death of a Pope the cardinal Bishops should first assemble and nominate a successor; they should then summon the cardinal priests to vote upon their choice, and, finally, the people should be consulted and invited to give their assent. The authority of the German Empero was vaguely recognized, but the terms of the enactment were adroitly framed to express the supremacy of the Pope over the Emperor, the Papal election. They reduced the right to Church itself. The actual election was in the higher clergy; the clergy and the people were simply to acquiesce. Thus was the College of the Roman Cardinals converted into an ecclesiastical senate. from which alore in the times to come the Pones were to proceed. Flually, in order to secure the elections from the violence of urban revolutions, it was decreed that they need no longer take place in Rome, and that there or elsewhere even a minority of Cardinals should be competent to choose a Pope canonically. This secree, accompanied by a fearful anathema, was ratified by general consent, and the signatures of 113 Bishops and many other ecclesiastics were attached to it. The name of Hildebrand appears

with the simple title "Monk and sub-deacon of the Roman Church."

The death of Nicolas in July, 1061, threatened to bring on a catastrophe. The enemies of reform in the Holy City held an assembly, resolved to confer the patriciate on the young King, Henry IV., sent him the insignia, and be sought him to give Rome a Pope. In this move they were joined by many Lombard Bishops. and by envoys of Milan, who urged the Empress not to allow her son to be robbed of his imperia rights, but to nominate a Lombard Pope, and an enemy of clerical celibacy. Nowhere had more irritation been created by the reform movement than in Milan, where clerical posttions were purchased by the sons of the nobility and where most of the priests were married On the other hand, the arrogance of the noble clergy had evoked among the more democratic portion of the people a party known as the Pataria, which was fired with zeal for reform, and had contracted close relations with Hildebrand. At this conjuncture, while the Lombard imperialists were combining with their friends in Rome to elect a Pope opposed to the reformers, Hildebrand whose time to take the Papal chair had not yet come, assembled the Cardinals (October, 10d1), and caused Anselm, Bishop of Lucca, a Lombard, to be chosen, according to the provisions of the new decree prescribing the methods of a Papal election, under the title of Alexander II. This prelate was the intimate friend of Hildebrand, and one of the founders of the Pataria. Nevertheless, the imperial partisans, although exasperated, did not venture to make any disturbance, because the election was sustained by Robert Guiscard, who was present with a strong force of Norman knights, Naturally, the election of Alexander was regarded by the German Bishops and by those Lombard ecdesinatics who favored the marriage of the clergy as an invasion of imperial rights. A number of these assembled at Basic and chose for Pope, Cadalous, Bishop of Parma, who assumed the name of Honorius II. Two hostile Popes now confronted each other, but Hildebrand's persistent assertion of the independence of the Roman Church had produced so much effect as to make Cadalous's election appears profanation, even to those who did not underrate the power of Germany. The Imperialists, however, were strong enough to conduct Honorius to Rome, and he entered the Leonine city. but was unable to pass into the city proper, and eventually withdrew to Parma. Events in Germany soon afterward brought about a complete revolution in the attitude of the empire toward the Papacy. The young Emperor, Henry IV., was abducted by the Hildebrandians, and his mother, the Empress Agnes, was deprived of the regency. Alexander II. was forthwith acknowledged as Pope by a council held at Augsburg, and he reëntered Rome in January, 1053. The Empress Agnes herself repaired to Rome as a penitent, and recognized Alexander as She embraced the religious life, after a public confession, and lived thenceforth austerely a Rome, under the ministrations of Hildebrand who gained over her a power which he afterward used in his dealings with her son. A council held at Mantua in May, 1064, having declared Alexander to be the lawful Pope, Cadalous retired to his bishopric, and his supporters, for the time being, submitted to the Hildebrandian régime. The hands of Hilde-

brand were now free to push the crusade

against cierical marriage in Lombardy, and the

contest was carried on with varying fortunes

until, in 1007, a legation cent to Milan by Alexander issued a constitution which protected the clergy from persecution at the hands of the Patarine party, but decreed the suspension of married and concubinary priests.

VII.

Alexander II. died in April, 1073, after pontificate of nearly twelve years. There could se no doubt as to his suc seasor. Hildsbrand had been virtually Pope during two pontifi cates. The efforts of the Clugny party against simony and cierical marriage had been inspired by him. It was he, moreover, who had given the watchword for the fight with the empire. and upon him the conduct of that struggle nor devolved. His election, however, was irregular Ancient usage prescribed that a Pope's succes should not be chosen until the third day after the burial. At the very time, however, when Hildebrand, as Archdeacon, was conducting the basquies, a simultaneous ery arose from clergy and people: "Hildebrand is Pope!" The decree declaring his election shows that there had been a reversion to the old practice of election by the Roman clergy, with the consent of the neighboring Bishops and of the people, although Hildebrand had himself drawn or inspired the election decree of 1059, which gave the nomination of the Pope to the Cardinals. But, although the method of his election may have been unexpected by him, the election itself could have been no surprise. He despatched messengers to Henry IV, to inform him that he had assumed the Papal office, but, without waiting for the King's recognition, he plunged at once into his official duties. He now showed himself imperious and dictatorial. The tone of his utterances is that of one who has hitherto held himself in check for prudential reasons, but who now feels free to assert himself without restraint. He had reached the point where he could formulate In the roundest terms his theory of Papal supremacy, and he straightway gave voice to his claim to the right of dominion over all worldly powers. While still awaiting his formal ininguration as Pope, he despatched a legate to France to give notice there of his election and to protect the rights of St. Peter in Spain. whose land, from of old, belongs to that saint." Henry IV. of Germany was not left for a moment in doubt as to the range of the Pope's intent. Hildebrand at once presented the al ternative of submission or the sword. The very title which he took, Gregory VII., was a side stroke at the empire, since it was assumed in remembrance of Gregory VI., and thus recognized as a legitimate Pope one whose pontifi cate had been annulled by imperial authority.

VIII. Gregory VII. died on May 25, 1085, probably about 70 years of age, having occupied the Papal

chair for twelve years and some months. We

simply on its acme at Canosa, and then indicate

the general effect of his pontificate upon the

Catholic Church. It was in the synod which

assembled in the Lateran in February, 1076,

that Hildebrand pushed the Papal pretensions to

the utmost, by arrogating the right of deposing

ereigns to whom the right of selecting Popes

had been conceded. The edict issued by Gregory

set forth: "I forbid King Henry the rule of the

whole German and Italian kingdom, and release

all Christians from pledges given or to be given

to him, and forbid any one to serve him as King; * * * and because he was disobedient

cated persons and committing many transgres-

sions. I anathematize him." This declaration

which propounded the Gregorian doctrine of

the Papacy, was a marked advance on that of

Nicholas I., the first Pope who attempted to apply ecclesiastical jurisdiction to sovereigns.

Christian, companying with excommuni-

the German Emperor, the successor of sov-

Nicholas had declared that princes, in common with all believers, are committed to the Church for the care of their souls, and are, therefore, subject to its penalties. It was not merely as a Christian prelate, but as king of kings that Gregory excommunicated Henry IV. He was not satisfied with the ecclesiastical punishment of excommunication, but claimed dethronemen as his special prerogative. All previous Papal hans were feeble in comparison with this thunderbolt. The audacity of the proclamation, which assumed to deprive of his crown the head of an empire, and to release his subjects from their allegiance, filled European Christendom with amazement, if not with terror. The effect of the proclamation was forthwith manifest in Germany, where many of the princes saw in it an opportunity of freeing themselves from a sovereign whom they disliked. A formidable conspiracy was set on foot by the Dukes of Suabia, Bavaria, and Carinthia, in cooperation with the Bishops of Wurzburg and Metz. In October, 1076, was convened at Tribur a Diet which resolved to acknowledge the deposition of Henry and to proceed with the election of a new Emperor. The only concession which the friends of the reigning monarch could obtain was that, in the following February, Diet should be held at Augsburg, at which the Pope was to appear and decide on the succession to the throne. Gregory, on his part, announced to the German Bishops and Princes his intention of being present at Augsburg on the appointed day, but Henry, after writing him a letter promising obedience and satisfaction, determined to forestall the Pope's journey by going to Rome himself. Owing to the opp tion of the Papal dukes who guarded the Alpine passes, it was with extreme difficulty that the King, accompanied by his wife and son, managed to cross the Alps by way of Mont Cenis. In the mean time Hildebrand had set out for Germany, and, having crossed the Appennines, on his way to Mantua, was met by the news of Henry's arrival in Italy. Uncertain whether he came as a suppliant or at the head of an army, the Pope turned aside to Canosa, a strong fortress of Mathilde daughter of the Margrave Boniface of Tuscany), on the right bank of the Opanto, about fifteen miles from the Adriatic. Here Henry suddenly appeared at the castle gate on Jan. 25, 1077, He was admitted only as far as the second enceints. He were the garb of a penitent, and. with bare feet, stood in the snow, fasting, and shivering in the loy wind, till evening. Thus he stood for three consecutive days. Mathilde entreated for him, but long in vain, nor was it until the Countess exchanged tears for reproaches that she obtained a reluctant consent to Henry's admission to the presence of the Pope. At the feet of Hildebrand the King knelt in tears, implored forgiveness, and accepted the narsh terms of submission imposed upon him. He was to appear at the place and time appointed by the Pope to answer the charges of his subjects. He was to guarantee the Pope's safe conduct thither. If he should be found guilty, he was to resign his kingdom and to pledge himself not to seek revenge for his deposition. Until the Pope's de-cision had been rendered he was not to assume the insignia of royalty, nor appropriate any part of the royal revenue, except what might be necessary for the maintenance of himself and his attendants. All his subjects were, meanwhile, to be released from their oath of allegiance, and, if eventually restored, he was to rule his kingdom according to the Pope's dictation. In the opinion of the author of this book, Gregory VII. overreached himself in subjecting a German Emperor to such intolerable humiliation. The monarchical sentiment was not extinguished in Germany, and Henry presently recovered strength and threw off the appearance of submission. So far as Hildebrand was personally concerned, his struggle with the empire seemed in the end a failure, for he died an exile from Rome, in misery and ruin. Yet his policy cannot be termed a failure,

with a larger measure of success.

for Innocent III, was to carry out his ductrine

Although in this book some of Hildebrand's acts receive animadversion, the greatness of the man is recognized. It is true that what are termed the Gregorian ideas were not invented or first propounded by him; nevertheless, he was the creator of the political papacy of the middle ages; the man who grasped the opportunities presented by the political disintegration of Europe, and who strove to realize through the Church alone the unity which the

Church and the empire together had, to a certain extent, accomplished in former days. No one before him had so clearly perceived full logical consequences of the fundamental and universally accepted positions of the Roma Church, and no one had made the attempt on such a scale to translate the logic into facts It is also undeniable that Gregory VII rose above the moral level of his age or the side of the grosser vices. He was unhis time, characterized many members of don. On the other hand, his ideals of verneity, justice, and charity were those of a secular medieval despot. If he did not formal ly adopt the principle that the end justifies the neans, his course ran close to the edge of it. He was, in truth, a politician rather than a theologian. His ecclesiastical claims were founded largely upon fictitious documents, the fabled Donation of Constantine and the forged Isidorian Decretals. It is but just to say, however, that these claims were put forward on be balf of the Church, not for himself. He struck at real and flagrant abuses, though it may not be easy to decide whether the principal motive for the attacks lay in his sense of the moral enormity of simony and of priestly concubinage and marriage. Both of these abuses were incompatible with his ideal of a centralized organization detached from all social ties, and wielded solely in the interests of the absolute and universal suremacy of the Roman Sec. Intense centraliza tion was, in fact, the governing aim of his whole policy. He strove to break down the power of the metropolitans because there was danger of the metropolitan sees acquiring the character of provincial papacies. He arrogated to himself not only the right to nominate the metropolitans, but also the rights formerly exercised by the metropolitans in the choice of their suffrugan Bishops. He laid down the principle that only the Pope or his legate could depose and reinstate Bishops, and, by confirming the general right of appeal to Rome, he interfered with the Bishops' power of judg-On the authority of the Isidorian Decretals, Gregory VII, also struck at the synods of the larger ecclesiastical communities, and thereby arrested the development of national churches. He maintained that every synod required Papal confirmation to make its decrees valid. Church property all over Latin Christeniom was to be entirely freed from lay control Though Church officers obtained their temporal ossessions from the Crown, they were not to receive their investitures with these from the royal giver, but from the Pope. This was the

capstone of his polity, the centralization of all the Church polity in the Papal See.

By Gregory VII. the empire itself was 'reated a flet of St. Peter, and the right of confirming or rejecting the elected King of the Romans was demanded of the German princes by the Pope; while of the King himself was exacted an oath of personal homage and obedience to the Pope in all things. The Emperor's first duty was the service of St. Peter. On the ground of the Donation of Constantine, Gregory claimed not only Germany, but also Sardinia, Corsica, and the greater part of middle Italy, Spain, and Hungary as the property of the Roman Church. He demanded an oath of fealty from William of England, from the King of Denmark, and from the Count of Provence, and he assumed the authority to make the Prince of Dalmatia a king. Wherever his claim was resisted, he urged the duty of princes to obey the Pope and to regard themselves, before all things, as the servants of the Church. The Pope is the lord, he said, of kingdoms and of princedoms, which, at his leasure, he may give or take away. As we have seen, he threatened Philip of France with

deposition, and actually deposed Henry IV. of Germany. Undoubtedly, his theocratic conception impracticable, and its failure was made plain men some two centuries after death. Yet it was magnificent, and only the audacity of genius would have undertaken to carry it out. Nor were the temporary results of the attempt by any means insignificant. They have been concisely and effectively summed up by Sir James Stephen: "He found the Papacy dependent on the empire; he sustained it by al llances almost commensurate with the Italian peninsula. He found the Papacy elective Roman people and left it elective by a college of Papal nominations. He found the Emperor the virtual patron of the Holy See: he wrested that power from his hand. He found the secular clergy the allies and dependents of the secular power; he converted them into inalienable auxiliaries of his own. He found the higher ecclesiastics in servitude to the temporal sovereigns; he delivered them from that yoke to subjugate them to the Roman tiara. He found the patronage of the Church the mere desecrated spoil and merchandise of princes; he reduced it within

the dominion of the Supreme Pontiff." M. W. H.

Of the three courses of lectures delivered by the late JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE while he was in residence at Oxford as professor of modern history, the two latter courses, which were de voted respectively to Erasmus and to the English Seamen of the sixteenth century, have appeared already in book form. The Mesers. Scribner have now published the first of these courses, which set forth the history of the Council of Trent up to the time of its interruption through the sudden invasion of the Tyrol in 1552 by the German army under Maurice of Saxony. The lectures begin with an account of the condition of the Roman Church at the close of the pontificate of Leo X., and their aim is to show that, had not Leo's successors thwarted the project of internal reform advocated by the Emperor Charles V., Catholicism would still be the religion of all central, northern, and western Europe. The first twelve lectures, which were addressed to a class of undergraduates and graduates, are summarized by the author himself in a thirteenth lecture which was given publicly. With the help of this summary we may indicate still more briefly the circum-

stances which occasioned the Council's meeting, Charles V. at his accession had found the laity of Germany and the north of Europe in revolt against the depravity and tyranny of the spiritual order. Inflated by privilege, corrupted by wealth, and fooled by the imagination that they possessed supernatural powers, the clergy had forgotten the purpose of their existence and despised the lessons which they professed to teach. The movement started by Luther was at first directed not against the doctrines of the Church, but against its immorality and tyranny alone. When the Church replied with excommunications and curses, and, where it was able, with are and stake, the teaching itself which produced results so portentous would naturally became the subject of in-One article of the creed after another would be questioned until everywhere there was discord and confusion threatening civil war. There had been a similar state of confusion at the beginning of the fifteenth century, and a remedy had then been sought in a general Council. Now, also, in all parts of Europe, except in middle Italy, there was a conviction that the troubles of the times could be dispelled by a Council, an assembly of the best and wisest men from all parts of Christendom. Mr. Froude points out that, as yet, not even among the Lutherans was there any wish to destroy the Church. There was simply a wish to purify its abuses, and, if any errors had crept into the creed, to remove them. The loudest of the reformers did not presume to set up their private opinions against the universal judgment. Luther himself was ready to submit to a free general Council; so was the German Diet; so were Henry VIII, and the English Parliament. There was one point of disagreement. bowever, caused by the fact that all past Counclis had been composed of clergy alone, and, for at least 1,100 years, had been presided over by the Bishop of Rome. The reformers held, how ever, that in the present state of things, the Pope and the clergy, being the chief offenders. could not be sole judges in their own cause. The latty, accordingly, claimed to be repre-

sented, and to have a voice in the measures to

be adopted. The Popes, on their part, foresee

ing how they would fare before a mixed tribunal, ted, intrigued, and appealed to princes to put the reformers down. But the princes of Europe, and especially Charles V., replied that they could not in conscience use fire and sword upon their subjects while the court of Rome remained a sink of iniquity. The dream of Charles V, was that the Church itself might reform itself and remain unbroken, and to that end he labored till at length be got a Council sonvoked at Trent in the Tyrol. It was not however, the sort of Conneil which the Protestants demanded, or felt themselves able to accept, for the Pope presided over it, and the Bishops alone had a vota. To the reformers such a condition of things appeared an absurdity. There was no hope that a council thus constituted would refrees the "Centum gravamina," or hundred grievances, the list of which had been drawn up at the Diet of Nuremberg, and circuisted throughout Europe. England and France refused to recognize a body composed as was the Council of Trent. The German Diet was long equally obstinate. The Emperor Charles believed, however, and assured both England and Germany, that the composition of the Counci was only temporary. The Bishops, he said, had no love for the Pope. If German and English deputies presented themselves and claimed ad-mission, they would obtain it, and they could then remodel the Council as they pleased France and England refused to be persuaded, but the German Diet unwillingly consented, and, to confirm its confidence, the Emperor charged both the Pope and the l'ope's Legate that, until the Germans should be present, the Council must address itself solely to the ques tion of moral reform and the correction of the ous scandals which had provoked the

The Emperor, however, had to deal with an

antagonist as determined as himself, and a great deal more subtle. Fact III. knew well

enough what would happen to him if the itishore

began upon reform and were reënforced by

rebellious Protestants. He was aware that his

own Bishops resented his encreachments, and

resented the oath extorted from them of obedi-

the Council with Italians, he could not, with all his skill, prevent spurts of mutiny. Yet, so long

ence to the Papacy. Although he had packed

as the Bishops were alone, he might at least hope to control them. And, therefore, since a Council there had to be, all his efforts from the first had been to make the coming of Lutheran impossible. His legates, who directed the pro-ceedings, scarcely touched reform with the tips of their fingers, but played on the appetite of the fathers for doctrinal discussions. Disregarding absolutely the Emperor's orders, they harried through definition on definition, and piled decree on decree with regard to the points o doctrine on which the Lutherans were most sensitive. These points once settled, the legales hoped that the Lutherans might refuse to appear, or that, if they did come, it would be only to find that all was over, and that they were committed to the Council's decisions. Yet, although thus baffled, the Emperor would not

give up the struggle. The German Diet nat urally urged that, if they were to be represented in the Council, the decrees burriedly framed must be reexamined. To ask for such an en gagement beforehand Charles knew would be useless, but both he and his brother Ferdinand were persuaded that, if a body of learned German laymen were once received at Trent, all would be altered. They had their own subjects among the Bishops, and probably were aware of their opinions. They consequently besought the German Diet to waive its objections, and it was ultimately agreed that Melanchthon and a number of th ablest theologians among the reformers should actually go. But a safe-conduct from the Council itself was required. The Emperor's guarantee would not suffice, for, in the ceding century, John Huss had gone to the Council of Constance, under a safe-conduct from the Emperor Sigismund, and, neverthe less, he had been burned. Charles V. approved of Melanchthon's demand; instructed his Ambassador at Trent to obtain the necessary document, and even undertook to go to Innspruck himself, to assure Melanchthon fair play. At first, the presiding legate refused any safe-conduct in the Council's name. Then, finding that the Emperor would not tolerate a refusal. he consulted the Pope, and produced a document apparently complete, but with an intentional equivocation to enable the Pope to disregard it. The Protestant Ambassadors, having detected the ambiguity, required the safeconduct to be re-drawn and now insisted not only on appearing in the Council, but on permission to debate, argue, and make propositions, and to have the free use of their own religion while they stayed in Trent. This new safe-conduct was granted, but it had to be referred back to the German Diet. Weeks, months, perhaps, would pass before Melanchhon could receive his final com: legate used the interval to add fresh decrees, and complete the exposition of doctrine so that, when the Protestants should come, there would be nothing left for them to do or say.

HII.

By this final manusyre the Emperor was

onvinced that he was no match for the Pope in diplomatic management. The Council, from which he had hoped so much, had become an organized manufactory of discord. There was no remedy but force, and force he was no longer willing to use against the Pope, and he could not use it against Protestants, because the only army then on foot n Germany was under the command of Maurice of Saxony. There was no mistake about the attitude of Maurice. In Mr. Froude's opinion, he was loyal to the Emperor and believed in his sincerity. His loyalty to Charles has been questioned, but there is no doubt that he was determined that the Council should be free in fact as well as name. The laity must have a voice in the discussions. The work which had been hurried through must be reviewed by Catholics and Protestants conjointly, and the Bishops must be relieved of their oath to the Papacy. When he became convinced that the Council would not consent to a revision of its decrees he resolved to bring it to an end. So it came to pass that he issued a manifesto saying that he was taking arms to secure the Protestant religion, to defend German liberty, and to deliver the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse, who were prisoners in the Emperor's hands. By a rapid march, for which, we are told by most historians, the Emperor was unprepared, but at which, in Mr. Froude's opinion, he connived. Maurice forced the passes of the mountains, and, advancing to Innspruck, emtered the town at one gate while the Emperor left it at another. Mr. Froude's comment on this incident is that, had the war been meant in earnest, he might have caught Charles without the least difficulty. Maurice himself said that he had no cage for so large a bird. It is certain that Charles did not give afterward any striking sign of a wish to revenge what was ostensibly an insult. So far as outward symptoms allowed his feelings to be guessed, he permitted his hand to be forced in lisgust at the Council and interested himself no further in its fortunes. At Trent, which was distant only a three days' merch from Innspruck. the effect of Maurice's incursion was immediately felt. Most of the frightened Bishops there assembled gathered their effects together and fied for their lives. Couriers galloped to Rome for instructions, but the Pope had none to give, except to suspend the Council. When his message arrived none of the venerable body was oft save the legate, Cardinal Crescentio, the Nuncio, and a few Spaniards, who had more courage than the rest. By these a hurried vote was passed that all their decrees, both those already sanctioned and those that waited for the Pope's approval, should be held vaild forever. This done they locked the doors and went their way. The legate, broken down with terror and excitement, died in a few days, and the Council, the child of so many hopes, which was to have restored peace to Europe, vanished into space, having, by its last act, made peace impossible. It met again ten years later, but then it was, in purpose and nature, a new assembly with which the lectures here reprinted have no concern. It met no longer with the pretence of

Roman communion for the reconquest of its lost dominions. The advance of Maurice on Innsuruck was to May, 1852, and, by the peace of Passau, con-cluded in the following July, teleration was established in Germany and lasted about seventy years, or until the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War. As to the assertion sometimes made by philosophical historians, that the reformation settled nothing. Mr. Froude points out that every one of the "hundred grievances" set forth by the Diet of Nuremberg, and every one of the abuses complained of by the English House of Commons in 1529, has been swept away long ago, and so completely, that their very existence is now forgotten. The move-ment which caused the Emperor Charles to insist on a general Council was, at the outset, essentially a revolt of the laity against the clergy. Everywhere in Catholic countries, as im Protestant, the practices have been abandened which the laity rose then to protest against, The principles on which the latty invisted have become the rules of the modern world. Popes no longer depose princes, dispense with eaths, or absolve subjects from their allegiance. Appeals are no longer carried to Bome from the national tribunals, nor is justice sold there to the highest bidder. The ciergy have ceased to press laws which bind the lalty and to enforce them with spiritual censure. Felonicos priests suffer for their crimes like unconsecrated mortals. Overzeslous preintes cannot call peop creatures before them and cross-question them on their belief, and fine, imprison or burn thera

desiring peace, but to equip and renovate the

THREE SNAKE STORIES.

at the stake. Excommunications are kept in

bounds by the law of libel. Cardinals cannot

now add see to see, that they may have princes'

revenues, or private clergy buy benefices as

they would buy farms, and buy along with

them dispensations to neglect their duties,

These scandals against which the lasty cried so

londly are gone, and the devoutes. Romantst

would not wish to revive them. One more vie-

tory has been gained, as important, if not as ob-

trusive. In the intercourse of daily life and the

joint discharge of common duties, men of dif-

ferent opinions concerning religion have, at

last, found it possible to live together without

regarding each other as natural en

How a Bischmake Bunto-The Rattler's From the Buffalo Commercia'.

"Sit down and sharpen your pencil, white I verhaul my mental shelves," remarked Mr. Thompson, curator of the soological collection in the park, in answer to a request for some anake stories. "Before giving you some of my experiences, I want to enter a protest against the indiscriminate slaughter of our common harmless snakes, such as the blacksnake, gar tersnake, and the like. Every farmer should protect them, for they are beneficial, instead of being harmful, as is generally supposed by a large majority of humanity. Any naturalist tell you that the food of the blackenake consists largely of rats, mice, &c., while that of the garter-make is principally insects, such as grasshoppers, caterpiliars, &c.

"Now for some of my experiences. In my younger days I was crossing Ashby's Gap, over the Blue Ridge, Virginia, in company with an uncle of the famous Black Horse Cavalry Ashby. We were making a portion of the ascent through quite a deep cut, when our attention was attracted by a toad, which rolled instead of hopping down the side slope. Ashby pulled up the horse and said. 'There's a blacksnake after that fellow.' An instant after the snake thrust his head through the fence, and, on observing us, drew back. In the meanwhile the tond had mathered himself together and was hopping at a lively gait up the road, Ashby remarked, 'Now I will show you some thing.' and sprang out of the buggy, caught the toad, which he carried a short distance and released. Returning, he turned the buggyand drove back down the road some fifty steps, when we lighted and tied the herse. Climbing over the fence, on the opposite side of the road to that on which the snake had made his ap-

to that on which the snake had made his appearance we stealthilly worked our way up, until we came in sight of the point where he was first seen. Lying down in the long grass and peering through the rails, we did not have to written being before the snake reappeared.

"He looked about for a few seconds, and them descended the slope down which the toad had rolled, and followed his trail up the read. On coming to the spot where it had been picked up, he began to circle, precisely as a dog would act, having lost the scent. He gradually increased the size of his circles until he struck the spot where the toad had been put down, when he made a bee line after it. We leaped into the road and hurried after his snakeship, who as soon as he discovered that he was being followed, turned up the alope and squirmed out of sight through the fence. Ashby said: 'I am sure you are satisfied now that a blacksnake hunts his prey by scent.' I assented, and he turned back after the buggy, while i pushed forward, picked up the frightened toad and carried it fully half a mile before releasing it.

a blacksnake hunts his prey by scent.' I assented, and he turned back after the boggy, while I pushed forward, picked up the frightened toad and carried it fully half a mile before releasing it.

"Many years ago I visited the Capon Springs Hampshire county, W. Va. While there I often amused myself squirrel hunting. The landlord owned a small terrier, which had been taught to hunt and tree them, and an old-fashinoned Kentneky rifle. I frequently borrowed both dog and gun, and with their assistance managed to have fair sport. One afternoon I was making my way through the undergrowth, attracted by the barking of the dog, when just in front of me I saw a blacksnake with his head well aloft, int.ntly looking over an old rotten log. I remained still and awaited developments, and in a few seconds he darted over the log, and thore was a fearful rustling among the dry leaves. On advancing so there was a clear view beyond the log, I saw that he had seized a ratilesnake just back of the head, and was killing it by constriction. Just then the dog began to bark with increased vehemence, and fearing that the squirrel would become so frightened as to commence lumping from tree to tree, I hastened away to secure my game. On my return I found the rattler dead and the blacksnake gone. The conclusion I drew from this incident was that the squirrel would become so frightened as to commence lumping from tree to tree, I hastened away to secure my game. On my return I found the rattler dead and the blacksnake gone. The conclusion I drew from this incident was that the squirrel would be one so from the hort Captain, asking me to come down to the harbor with all possible despatch, as a python had taken possible de

the alarm, and the entire crew lest no time in getting on shore and sareading the report that the ragging was full of the biggest kind of snakes.

"With the assistance of the Port Captain's binoculars I had no difficulty in making a critical examination of the entire upper works of the vossel, which was nochored about 100 yards from the shore. The result was one larme rather, rolled around the laps of the main and togmost. Borrowing a sack I manared, after much rerestant to get two of the crew to pall myself and keeper out to the bris, where they left on apit turned back to the left. I urrase the fag ralyards, made an occan one end of them, and hunted around until found a steat piece of reed, some six or eight reet in length. Climbing up the shrouds, I made my a tack through the bubbershole, by numbing his snakehip with the reed, to the end of which I had bed the hole for the purpose of lightly me, when he was instantly nossed fightly me, when he was instantly none of lightly me, when he had nearly recovered from his severe wind stoke himself into insensibility. Calling to the keeper to took the mount of the sack coper, I watched until I thought he was nearly at his last gass, when I saturned up on the top, loosened his cells around the mass, however him to the sack when the keeper immediately cut the nears. By the time that I reached the deck he had nearly recovered from his severe wind stomach. On the arrival of the reached heart is predicted the mount of the sack that the python, in swimming across his heart heart was ninsting. I therefore concluded that the python, in swimming across his heart h